

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-10 IO-13  
L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-05 SP-02  
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 DODE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-12  
COME-00 /099 W  
-----017212 220700Z /21

R 211540Z JUN 78  
FM AMEMBASSY PRAGUE  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5618  
INFO AMEMBASSY BERLIN  
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST  
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST  
AMEMBASSY SOFIA  
AMEMBASSY WARSAW  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

C O N F I D E N T I A L PRAGUE 1622

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, UR, CZ, US  
SUBJECT: NEW CSCE APPROACHES TO SOVIET UNION AND EAST EUROPEAN STATE  
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REFS A. STATE 120984, B. MOSCOW 13691, C. STATE 146533

1. WE STRONGLY AGREE WITH MOSCOW THAT, AT LEAST IN THE CASE  
OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, NOW IS NOT THE TIME TO MAKE A NEW APPROACH  
ON CSCE. OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AS IS  
WELL KNOWN, ARE PRESENTLY AT VERY LOW LEVEL, REFLECTING  
TO A LARGE EXTENT THE CLIMATE OF U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS. THERE ARE  
OTHER FACTORS PRESENTLY WEIGHING ON THEM AS WELL, STARTING WITH  
GOLD/CLAIMS AND INCLUDING THE RECENT EXPULSION OF AP JOURNALIST  
ROBERT REID, THE LONG-  
DELAYED EXCHANGES AGREEMENT, AND OTHER UNPLEASANTRIES. AS IN THE  
PAST, WE THINK IT IMPORTANT TO LAY A LARGE PORTION OF THE BLAME  
FOR THE SITUATION IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA SQUARELY ON THE SOVIETS FOR  
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THEIR TIGHT GRIP, JUST DRAMATIZED BY BREZHNEV VISIT, ON BOTH  
INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL ASPECTS OF CZECHOSLOVAK POLICIES. THE  
FORTHCOMING TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WARSAW PACT INVASION IMPOSES  
ANOTHER TEMPORARY BARRIER TO IMPROVING BILATERAL RELATIONS(AS  
DOES THE GENERAL NEGATIVE HUMAN RIGHTS CLIMATE) WHICH THE DEPARTMENT  
HAS RECOGNIZED BY ITS DECISION TO DEFEER CONCLUDING THE EXCHANGES  
AGREEMENT AT LEAST UNTIL FALL. FOR THEIR PART, CZECHOSLOVAK OFFICIAL

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HAVE RECENTLY HINTED THAT THEY ARE RECONSIDERING THE USEFULNESS OF THE JOINT ECONOMIC COUNCIL AND SPECIFICALLY OF ITS SCHEDULED MEETING THIS FALL. THE CURRENT TONE OF OUR RELATIONS WAS BEST REFLECTED IN THE RECENT NIMETZ-JOHANES MEETING (REF C), IN WHICH COUNSELOR NIMETZ EXPRESSED PESSIMISM ABOUT IMPROVEMENT IN RELATIONS BEFORE THIS FALL OR EARLY NEXT YEAR. UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES, WE CONCLUDE IT WOULD CUT AGAINST OUR WON POLICY TO APPROACH THE CZECHOSLOVAKS ON FORMAL CSCE REVIEW EVEN THOUGH WE CONTINUALLY, ON AD HOC BASIS, MEET WITH FOREIGN MINISTRY OFFICIALS ON CSCE-RELATED ISSUES, ESPECIALLY DIVIDED FAMILIES, JOURNALISTS STATUS AND DISCUSS HUMAN RIGHTS ATMOSPHERE.

2. CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS ALSO A SPECIAL CASE IN THAT WE HELD NO PRE-BELGRADE FORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH IT--A FACT THAT WAS NOTED BY GOC OFFICIALS WITH SOME DISPLEASURE(77 PRAGUE 1721). TO START NOW MIGHT BE TO SEND A FALSE SIGNAL THAT WE PRESENTLY FIND SOMETHING ACCEPTABLE IN THE REGIME'S CSCE IMPLEMENTATION RECORD.

3. WE BELIEVE THERE IS VALUE TO DIFFERENTIATING(WITHOUT IMPOSING A RIGID RANK LIST) BETWEEN THOSE COUNTRIES IN THIS REGION WHICH SHOW REAL INTEREST IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AND THOSE WHICH DO NOT. HOLDING OR NOR HOLDING FORMAL CONSULTATIONS IS A HANDY MECHANISM FOR MAKING THAT DIFFERENTIATION CLEAR.

4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT DEPARTMENTMAY DETERMINE OTHER CONSIDERATIONS  
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OUTWEIGH FACTORS NOTED ABOVE. IF WE ARE INSTRUCTED TO PROCEED WITH DEMARCHE, OUR PROPOSED TALKING POINTS WOULD DIFFER ONLY SLIGHTLY FROM THOSE SUBMITTED LAST AUGUES (77 PRAGUE 2221). AS FOR TIMING, WE BELIEVE CONSULTATIONS WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA SHOULD BE REVIEWED EARLY SEPTEMBER AND THEN TAKE PLACE ONLY AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH OTHER EE GOVERNMENTS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, SO AS TO MINIMIZE THE SIGNAL OF "BUSINESS AS USUAL" WHICH WE WOULD BE SENDING. BYRNE

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## Message Attributes

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